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Saigon 9088 10-20-67

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ACTION EA 19

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GPM 03,SC 01,NSC 10,RSC 01,L 03,H 02,SAH 03,SAL 01,IO 21,P 04,
INR 07,AID 30,RSR 01,/128 W

DEPARTMENT OF STATE A/CDC/MR
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FM AMEMBASSY SAIGON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9250
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CINCPAC
AMCONSUL DANANG 1158
AMEBASSY VIENTIANE 2809

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 SAIGON 9088

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

SUBJECT: OUTLOOK FOR LOWER HOUSE ELECTIONS

REF: A) SAIGON A-242 F) SAIGON 7931
B) SAIGON 8576 G) SAIGON 8460
C) SAIGON 8581 H) SAIGON 8433
D) SAIGON 8666 I) SAIGON 7687
E) SAIGON 3956 J) SAIGON 8882

1. SUMMARY: THIS SUNDAY'S LOWER HOUSE ELECTIONS, THE FIFTH AND LAST IN THE SERIES OF VIETNAMESE ELECTIONS WHICH BEGAN 14 MONTHS AGO, WILL COMPLETE THE PROCESS OF

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CONSTRUCTING THE FRAMEWORK FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

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IN VIET NAM. THIS ELECTION, LIKE THOSE WHICH PRECEDED IT, IS BEING COMPETENTLY ORGANIZED AND ADMINISTERED. THERE IS A VERY LARGE NUMBER OF CANDIDATES IN THE RACE, MANY OF WHOM HAVE CONSIDERABLE BACKGROUND AND EXPERIENCE. THE CAMPAIGN, WHICH GOT OFF TO A SLOW START, HAS PICKED UP MOMENTUM. IN MANY INSTANCES THE DISCUSSION OF ISSUES HAS BEEN MORE OPEN AND CANDID THAN IN THE PAST. THE ENEMY HAS ASSUMED ITS USUAL STANCE, DENOUNCING THE ELECTIONS AND THREATENING THOSE WHO PARTICIPATE, BUT THE LEVEL OF PROPAGANDA, THREATS AND ANTI-ELECTION ACTIVITY HAS NOT REACHED THE CRESCENDO WHICH PRECEDED THE SEPTEMBER 3 ELECTIONS. IT REMAINS OF COURSE TO SEE WHAT THE ENEMY WILL ACTUALLY DO BETWEEN NOW AND THE CLOSING OF THE POLLS SUNDAY. FLOODS IN I CORPS AND THE USUAL HIGH WATER PREVALANT THIS TIME OF YEAR IN THE WESTERN DELTA WILL PROBABLY COMBINE WITH SOME SLACKENING OF GVN GET-OUT-THE-VOTE ACTIVITY TO HOLD VOTER TURNOUT BELOW THE 83 PERCENT RECORDED SEPT 3. WE WOULD REGARD A TURN-OUT OF 70-80

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PERCNET AS SATISFACTORY.
OV
2. THE CANDIDATES: OF THE 1650 PERSONS WHO INITIALLY FILED FOR THE LOWER HOUSE BY AUGUST 30, THERE ARE PROBABLY SOMEWHAT LESS THAN 1200 STILL IN THE RACE (REF A AND B). THIS IS A CANDIDATE-TO-SEAT RATIO OF A LITTHO LESS THAN NINE TO ONE. OF THOSE WHO HAVE DROPPED OUT, AT LEAST HALF HAVE WITHDRAWN. A SUBSTANTIAL NUMBER WHO HAVE BEEN ELIMINATED ARE MILITARY PERSONNEL AND CIVIL SERVANTS WHO FAILED TO OBTAIN THE NECESSARY LEAVES OF ABSENCE. SOME CANDIDATES WERE DISQUALIFIED FOR CAUSE UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF THE LOWER HOUSE ELECTION LAW. THE NUMBER OF THOSE EXCLUDED UNDER ARTICLE II, SECTION 9, THE ANTI-COMMUNIST PROVISION, HAS BEEN VERY SMALL, PROBABLY LESS THAN TWO PERCENT OF ALL THOSE FILING ON AUGUST 30. OF THOSE SO EXCLUDED 32 APPEALED TO THE CENTRAL ELECTION COUNCIL AND 19 WERE REINSTATED (REF C). MOST

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OF THE DISQUALIFICATIONS WERE ON OTHER GROUNDS, SUCH AS FAILURE TO PRODUCE THE NECESSARY DOCUMENTS, FILIN LATE, OR A RECORD OF PAST MALFEASANCE (OTHER

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THAN PRO-COMMUNIST OR ANTI-GOVERNMENT ACTIVITY). IT IS NOTEWORTHY, IN FACT, THY A GOOD NUMBER OF CANDIDATES STILL IN THE RACE, PARTICULARLY FROM I CORPS AND COASTAL II CORPS, ARE BUDDHIS WHO HAVE IN MANY CASES PARTI-CIPATED IN "STRUGGLE" ACTIVITY AGAINST THE GVN. SEVERAL PERSONS WHO WERE DISQUALIFIED FROM RUNNING IN THE CONSTITITUENT ASSEMBLY OR THE UPPER HOUSE ELECTIONS HAVE SURVIVED THE SCREENING PROCESS THIS TIME (REF C).

3. THE COMPOSITION OF THE CANDIDATES, IN SO FAR AS WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO DETERMINE, WAS REPORTED REF D. OF THOSE ESTIMATED 1175-1200 STILL IN THE RUNNING, THE LARGEST NUMBER COME FROM THE RANKS OF PRESENT OR FORMER CIVIL SERVANTS (239), WHILE TEACHERS (195), QYSINESSMEN (171), MILITARY PERSONNEL (143), AND "NOTABLES" (178), ARE WELL REPRESENTED. THERE WERE, ACCORDING TO OUR RUNNING TALLY, 52 CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY DEPUTIES WHO INITIALLY FILED; WE NOW KNOW OF 5 WHO SAID THEY WOULD WITHDRAW, ALTHOUGH ONE OR TWO APPEAR TO HAVE CHANGED THEIR MINDS. A LARGE NUMBER OF PROVINCIAL COUNCIL MEMBERS ARE IN THE RACE (84); THERR ARE ALSO A

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FEW VILLAGE COUNCIL MEMBERS (21), AND A SCATTERING OF PROFESSIONAL (MEDICAL DOCTORS, 28; LAWYERS, 24). IN GENERAL, CANDIDATES APPEAR SOMEWHAT OLDER (VIETNAM PRESS HAS ANNOUNCED THEIR AVERAGE AGE AS 49), MORE EXPERIENCED AAND MORE COMPETENT THAN THOSE WHO STOOD FOR THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY LAST YEAR. AT LEAST FIVE FORMER PROVINCE CHIEFS ARE RUNNING (IN KIEN HOA, AN GIANG, VINH BINH, BINH LONG AND PLEIKU) AS WELL AS A NUMBER OF THE MORE ABLE [illegible] CIVIL SERVANTS.

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GPM 03,SC 01,NSC 10,RSC 01,L 03,H 02,SAH 03,SAL 01,IO 2:,P 04,
INR 07,AID 30,RSR 01,'.28 W

P R 20:.00Z OCT 67
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TO SECSTATE WASHC PRIORITY 9251
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CINCPAC
AMCONSUL DANANG :.59
AMEMBASSY VIENTIANE 2810

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 SAIGON 9088

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6. THE ISSUES: TO A CONSIDERABLE DEGREE THE CANDIDATES APPEAR TO BE ADDRESSING THEMSELVES TO SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES: AS USUAL, THERE IS A GOOD DEAL OF GENERALIZING ABOUT THE NEED FOR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROGRESS, BUT THERE IS ALSO CANDID TALK ABOUT THE NEED TO BRING THE GOVERNMENT CLOSER TO THE PEOPLE, THE ELIMINATION OF CORRUPTION, THE NEED TO PROTECT NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY, THE PROSECUTION OF THE WAR (ESPECIALLY FAIR PAYMENT OF COMPENSATION CAUSED BY WAR DAMAGE), AND "PEACE".

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7. WHILE MANY CANDIDATES ADDRESS THEMSELVES TO THE PEACE ISSUE ONLY IN VAGUE AND GENERAL TERMS, A FEW MAKE PEACE THE FOCUS OF THEIR APPEAL. THESE USUALLY

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EMPLOY ONE OR ANOTHER VARIATION OF THE "WHITE DOVE" SYMBOL. THERE IS NO INDICATION THAT THESE "PEACE CANDIDATES" ARE IN ANY WAY ORGANIZED (MUCH LESS CONNECTED WITH TRUONG DINH DZU). IT IS EVIDENT, HOWEVER, THAT DZU'S SUCCESS AT THE POLLS WITH THE PEACE ISSUE AND THE DOVE SYMBOL I.S LED A SMALL BUT NOTEWORTHY NUMBEROF LOWER HOUSE CANDIDATES TO ATTEMPT THE SAME. IT WILL BE INTERESTING TO OBSERVE HOW MANY VOTES THESE CANDIDATES, MANY OF WHOM ARE SOMEWHAT YOUNGER AND LESS WELL KNOWN THAN THEIR COMPETITORS, ATTRACT.

8. ONE ISSUE WHICH IS REPEATEDLY RAISED IS THAT OF BRINGING THE BENEFITS WHICH THE DISTANT GOVERNMENT IN SAIGON IS SUPPOSED TO PROVIDE ACTUALLY TO THE PEOPLE. AN INTERESTING ASPECT OF THIS IS THAT MANY OF THE CA DEPUTIES IN THE LOWER HOUSE RACE ARE BEING CHARGED BY THEIR OPPONENTS "WITH GOING OFF TO SAIGON AND

FORGETTING THE PEOPLE WHO ELECTED THEM." IN ANY GIVEN CASE THIS MAY OR MAY NOT BE TRUE, BUT CA DEPUTIES DO APPEAR TO BE GENERALLY VULNERABLE TO THIS CHARGE. FAIR OR NOT, THE IMPLICATION IS THAT SOMEHOW THE CA SHOULD HAVE BEEN ABLE TO LOOK OUT MORE SPECIFICALLY FOR THE INTERESTS OF PEOPLE IN THE PROVINCES THAN WAS THE CASE. SOME CA DEPUTIES WILL LOSE, AT LEAST PARTLY DUE TO THIS CHARGE.

9. POLITICAL PARTIES AND INTEREST GROUPS: THE NUMBER AND FRAGMENTATION OF PARTIES AN POLITICAL INTEREST GROUPS IN VIETNAM, PLUS THE VERY LARGE NUMBER OF CANDIDATES IN CONTENTION, RENDERS PREDICTION OF THE OUTCOME OF THIS ELECTION EVEN MORE HAZARDOUS THAN IS USUALLY THE CASE IN VIETNAMESE POLITICS. NEVERTHELESS, WE HAVE A FAIRLY ACCURATE PICTURE OF HOW MANY CANDIDATES HAVE SOME DEGREE OF CONNECTION WITH THE MAJOR PARTIES OR POLITICAL INTEREST GROUPS. WHAT FOLLOWS IS THEREFORE A SUMMARY OF THIS INFORMATION PLUS A VERY

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TENTATIVE GUESTIMATE AT THE POSSIBLE OUTCOME.

A. THE CATHOLICS: THERE IS ONLY ONE POLITICAL

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PARTY WHICH CAN BE CALLED CATHOLIC AS SUCH, THE GREATER SOLIDARITY FORCE, LED BY UPPER HOUSE WINNER NGUYEN GIA HIEN. WE HAVE A LIST OF 23 GSF CANDIDATES NATIONWIDE OF WHOM HIEN HOPES TO SEE SOME 15 VICTORIOUS. HIEN IS ALSO PREDICTING THAT ABOUT A THIRD OF THE LOWER HOUSE WILL BE CATHOLIC. WE DO NOT KNOW HOW MANY CATHOLICS ARE IN THE RACE, BUT THE NUMBER IS QUITE LARGE. GIVEN THE COHESION OF THE CATHOLIC COMMUNITY, IT IS QUITE POSSIBLE THAT SOME 30-45 CATHOLICS WILL WIN.

B. REVOLUTIONARY DAI VIETS: RDV LEADERS SAY THEY ARE BACKING 38 PEOPLE AND HOPE FOR 25-30 WINNERS; IT IS DOUBTFUL THEY WILL DO AS WELL AS THAT, ALTHOUGH IN THE SEPTEMBER 3 RACE RDV PROVINCIAL ORGANIZATIONS PERFORMED VERY CREDITABLY. THERE MAY BE 10-15 RDV WINNERS.

C. TAN DAI VIET: WE DO NOT KNOW FOR CERTAIN HOW MANY TDV CANDIDATES ARE RUNNING BUT THE NUMBER IS PROBABLY BETWEEN 10 AND 20. SOME WILL WIN, ESPECIALLY IN III CORPS. THERE IS NO EVIDENCE THAT TDV CANDIDATES

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ARE RUNNING ON "PEACE" PLATFORMS OR USING WHITE DOVE SYMBOL, AS DID TRUONG DINH DZU WHOM THEY BACKED IN THE PRESIDENTIAL RACE.

D. THE CVT HAS PROVIDED US RECENTLY WITH A LIST OF SOME 51 PEOPLE WHOM IT IS NOW OFFICIALLY BACKING (THIS IS SOMEWHAT MORE THAN PREVIOUSLY REPORTED REF I). THERE ARE 25 CVT MEMBERS AND 26 NON-CVT MEMBERS ON THE

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LIST. MANY CVT CANDIDATES ARE ALS ASSOCIATED WITH OTHER GROUPPINGS: CVT NATIONAL CHAIRMAN TRN QUOC BUU IS PREDICTING THAT THE CVT IS CERTAIN TO PICK UP 23 SEATS AND POSSIBLY SEVERAL MORE. THIS SEEMA TO US OVERLY OPTIMISTIC. WE EXPECT, HOWEVER, THERE WLL BE A SOLID LABOR REPRESENTATION IN THE LOWER HOUSE, PERHAPS 5-15 SEATS.

E. FARMER-WORKER-LABOR PARTY: THIS NEW POLITI-
CAL ORGANIZWL
ON IS LED BY GENERAL TRAN VAN DON WHO
WON A SMASHINGTRIUMPH IN THE UPPER HOUSE RACE.
GENERAL DON HAS PROVIDED US WITH A LIST OF 78 PERSONS
WITH WHOM HE HAS SOME KIND OF UNDERSTANDING. HE SAYD
HE HOPES FOR 30-35 WINNERS BUT WILL BE QUITE SATISFIED

WITH 10-15. WE BELIEVE THE LATTER IS THE MORE REALIS-
TIC PREDICTION ALTHOUGH THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT THE
BACKING OF GENERAL DON IS A FORMIDABLE POLITICAL ASSET.

F. THE BUDDHISTS ARE AS USUAL NOT WELL ORGANIZED,
BUT THERE ARE A NUMBER OF BUDDHIST STILL IN THE RACE
IN I CORPS AND COASTALII CORPS WHO HAVE "STRUGGLE"
ASSOCIATIONS. ALTHOUGH RUMORS WERE CIRCULATING IN I
CORPS THAT RADICAL BUDDHISTS WERE TRYING TO ORGANIZE
AN ELECTION BOYCOTT, WITH CANDIDATES WITHDRAWING EN
MASSE, THIS HAS NOT HAPPENED (REF JLM ON THE CONTRARY,
THERE ARE SEVERAL CANDIDATES OF TRI QUANG SYMPATHIES
WHO ARE CAMPAIGNING VERY ACTIVELY IN I CORPS AND WHO
HAVE A GOOD CHANCE TO WIN. THOSE WE HAVE IDENTIFIED
AS HAVING MORE OR LESS OFFICIAL ENDORSEMENT FROM AN
QUANG UNITED BUDDHIST ASSOCIATION FACTION LOCAL LEADERS
IN I CORPS ARE PERHAPS 5-10, IN COASTAL II CORPS
ABOUT 15, AND IN SAIGON-GIA DINH 5-10. SOME WILL WIN,
THUS GIVING BUDDHIST INTERESTS PARTICIPATION IN LEGITI-
MATE POLITICAL ACTIVITY FOR THE FIRST TIME IN SOME TIME.

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INR 07,AID 30,RSR 01,/128 W

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FM AMEMBASSY SAIGON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9252
INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK 4628
CINCPAC
AMCONSUL DANANG 1160
AMEMBASSY VIENTIANE 2811

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G. THE HOA HAO SUFFER FROM A DEEP SPLIT IN CENTRAL COMMITTEE RANKS WHICH HAS PREVENTED ANY FORMAL ENDORSEMENT OF CANDIDATES BY THE HOA HAO ESTABLISHMENT. THIS WILL COST THE HOA HAO SOME SEATS. IN THE 9 DELTA PROVINCES WHERE THE HAO HAO EXERT SOME POLITICAL INFLUENCE THERE ARE 23 SEATS AT STAKE FOR WHICH 127 CANDIDATES ARE VYING. THERE ARE 69 HOA HAO AMONG THESE, AND PERHAPS 14-18 WILL BE SUCCESSFUL. (THE ONLY UNCONTESTED VIENAMESE SEAT IS IN KIEN TUONG WHERE THE

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HOA HAO CANDIDATES IS A SURE WINNER).

ONE ASPECT OF THE HOA HAO SITUATION WORTHY OF

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NOTE IS THE WITHDRAWAL OF SOME 8-10 HOA HAO SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY CANDIDATES FROM THE RACE IN KIEN PHONG, CHAU DOC, VINH LONG, SA DEC AND PERHAPS ELSEWHERE IN THE DELTA. THESE WITHDRAWALS APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN AT THE INSTRUCTION OF SDP LEADER PHAM BA CAM, WHOSE UPPER HOUSE LIST ALMOST WON. CAM BITTERLY RESENTS HIS NARROW LOSS. THIS SDP HAS LONG BEEN A DISAFFECTED MINORITY ELEMENT WITHIN THE HOA HAO AND SDP WITHDRAWAL WILL NOT HAVE MUCH IMPACT.

H. MOVEMENT FOR THE RENAISSANCE OF THE SOUTH: THERE HAS BEEN A GOOD DEAL OF DISCOURAGEMENT AND PIQUE IN THE RANKS OF THE MRS AS A RESULT OF THE DISAPPOINTING SHOWING OF THEIR CANDIDATE, TRAN VAN HUONG, IN THE PRESIDENTIAL RACE. SOME MRS CANDIDATES HAVE WITHDRAWN FROM THE RACE BUT OTHERS, MOST NOTABLY MRS LEADER LY QUI CHUNG, ARE STILL IN. WE DO NOT KNOW HOW MANY MRS ARE STILL IN THE CONTEST BUT THROUGHOUT THE DELTA AND IN SAIGON-GIA DINH THERE MAY BE AS MANY

AS 15. FIVE TO 10 MAY BE SUCCESSFUL.

I. THE VNQDD: THE COMPLEXITIES OF THE NVQDD FACTIONAL SITUATION MAKE ANALYSIS DIFFICULT AND PREDICTION NEARLY IMPOSSIBLE. THERE WILL BE AT LEAST A HANDFUL OF VNQDD MEMBERS, HOWEVER, IN THE LOWER HOUSE.

J. THE CAO DIA: ALTHOUGH A NUMBER OF CANDIDATES ARE THEMSELVES CAO DAI, WE ARE AWARE OF NO ORGANIZATIONAL TIES BETWEEN THEM, ALTHOUGH SOME MAY EXIST.

K. THE ALL VIET NAM BLOC: THIS RATHER AMORPHOUS GROUPING OF SOME HOA HAO, SOME MORE CONSERVATIVE ELEMENTS OF THE CAO DAI, AND SOME CENTRAL VIETNAMESE VNQDD ELEMENTS DID VERY POORLY IN THE UPPER HOUSE ELECTION AND APPEARS NOT TO BE FIELDING MANY CANDIDATES AS SUCH. BLOC LEADERS SAY THEY HAVE DECIDED TO PLAY DOWN BLOC AFFILIATIONS FOR THE TIME BEING.

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L. THE MINORITIES: OF THE 137 LOWER HOUSE SEATS, 16 ARE RESERVED FOR MINORITIES (REF E). THERE ARE SIX SOUTH VIETNAMESE MONTAGNARD SEATS, TWO NORTH VIETNAMESE MONTAGNARD SEATS, SIX SEATS FOR CAMBODIANS AND TWO FOR CHAMS. AT LATEST COUNT THERE AR 12 SVN MONTAGNARDS.

11 NVN MONTAGNARDS, AND 5 CHAMS STILL IN THE RACE. TWO SVN MONTAGNARD CANDIDATES, IN DARLAC AND QUANG NGAI, ARE UNOPPOSED. IN THE 6 DELTA PROVINCES WHERE 6 CAMBODIAN SEATS ARE AT STAKE THER WERE, AT LAST COUNT, 19 CONTENDERS. THE CAMBODIAN CANDIDATE IN CHUONG THIEN PROVINCE IS UNOPPOSED. ALTHOUGH ETHNIC CHINESE CONSTITUTE APPROXIMATELY 6 PERCENT OF THE NATIONAL POPULATION, NO LOWER HOUSE SEATS HAVE BEEN RESERVED FOR THEM. ONLY IN CHOLON, SAIGON'S THIRD ELECTORAL CONSTITUENCY, IS THE CNCENTRATION OF CHINESE HIGH ENOUGH TO ENSURE THE ELECTION OF CHINESE CANDIDATES. IT IS LIKELY THAT CHINESE WILL BE ELECTED TO THREE OF THE FOUR CHOLON SEATS, AND THERE IS A SLIGHT POSSIBILITY THAT ONE CHINESE WILL BE ELECTED TO ONE OF THE FIVE SEATS IN SAIGON'S FIRST CONSTITUENCY.

10. ENEMY ANTI-ELECTION ACTIVITY: THE SAME FAMILIAR "SMASH THE ELECTION" CALL IS TO BE HEARD FROM THE ENEMY (REF F), ALTHOUGH IN NOTHING LIKE THE CRESCENDO OF TWO MONTHS AGO. THE CAMPAIGN PERIOD HAS BEEN SHORT FOR THE VC AS WELL AS FOR THE GVN. IN I CORPS, CANDI-

DATES HAVE BEEN THREATENED BY LEAFLETS (REF J) AND THERE HAVE BEEN VARIOUS REPORTS IN OTHER AREAS OF VC ARMED PROPAGANDA FORAYS DURING WHICH VILLAGERS ARE LECTURED AGAINST VOTING. WE HAVE NOT POSITIVELY IDENTIFIED MUCH VIOLENCE SPECIFICALLY DIRECTED AT DISRUPTING THE CAMPAIGN OR ELECTION PREPARATIONS AS

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YET. ONE CANDIDATE, ARVN CAPTAIN TRAN VAN MEO (REF G), HAS BEEN ASSASSINATED, AND AN ATTEMPT HAS BEEN MADE ON THE LIFE OF ANOTHER, DIEP VAN HUNG (REF H); IN BOTH INSTANCES, VC WERE THE PROBABLE PERPETRATORS ALTHOUGH THERE ARE OTHER FACTORS PRESENT WHICH MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE TO DETERMINE WHETHER THE PRIMARY MOTIVE WAS BECAUSE THE VICTIMS WERE CANDIDATES. WE HAVE NO INDICATION AS YET THAT THE ENEMY IS COVERTLY BACKING ANY CANDIDATE, ALTHOUGH INEVITABLY THERE ARE A FEW SUCH RUMORS IN CIRCULATION. "PEACE" CANDIDATES DO NOT APPEAR ORGANIZED OR PARTICULARLY WELL FINANCED. WE WILL, HOWEVER, BE PARTICULARLY ALERT TO THE POSSIBILITY OF VC SUPPORT FOR THE CANDIDATES. IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN WHAT THE ENEMY WILL ACTUALLY DO BETWEEN NOW AND SUNDAY. ALTHOUGH WE EXPECT ENEMY ANTI-ELECTION ACTIVITY TO INCREASE, IT MAY NOT REACH THE HIGH LEVEL ATTAINED IMMEDIATELY PRIOR TO AND ON SEPTEMBER 3.

11. VOTER TURNOUT: THERE HAVE BEEN FLOODS IN I CORPS. THIS IS ALSO THE SEASON OF THE YEAR WHEN HIGHWATER IN THE WESTERN DELTA USUALLY RESTRICTS TRAVEL TO SOME EXTENT THERE. VOTER TURNOUT WILL BE SOMEWHAT ADVERSELY AFFECTED IN THOSE AREAS. IN ADDITION, THE FACT THAT THIS IS THE FIFTH ELECTION WITHIN 14 MONTHS HAS PRODUCED A SOMEWHAT WEARY RESPONSE IN LOCAL OFFICIALS AND THIS WILL REDUCE THE EFFICIENCY OF THE GVN GET-OUT-THE-VOTE EFFORT SOMEWHAT. NEVERTHELESS, AS NOTED ABOVE, CAMPAIGN IS LOCALLY CENTERED AND ALTHOUGH THE TURNOUT WILL PROBABLY NOT REACH THE 83 PERCENT RECORDED ON SEPTEMBER 3, WE DO NOT EXPECT ANY UNTOWARD DROP. WE WOULD REGARD A TURNOUT OF 75-80 AS VERY SATISFACTORY, AND WE WOULD NOT HAVE UCH DIFFICULTY WITH A TURNOUT AS LOW AS 70 PERCENT. BELOW THAT FIGURE WE WOULD PROBABLY HAVE TO CONTEND WITH PRESS SPECULATION ABOUT "BOYCOTTS", ETC.

12. WE CONSIDER THE PERFORMANCE OF THE VIETNAMESE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE IN SUCCESSFULLY ORGANIZING AND

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PARTICIPATING IN THIS SERIES OF ELECTIONS ADMIRABLE.
IT HAS BEEN A COURAGEOUS VENTURE. BUNKER